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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze women's contributions to the history and development of management concepts. The paper discusses the needs and reasons for this type of exploration and compares differences between men and women in relation to the development of management thought. A historical profile from the early 1800s which features specific women, events, and women's entries into selected professions, is presented. A research project is described in which writings by and about Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Parker Follett, Margaret Dreier Robins, and Mary Barnett Gilson were analyzed to determine what management principles might have been common to these five women. The management philosophies of these late nineteenth century, early twentieth century women include: (1) achieving unity through diversity, rather than through uniformity; (2) placing value on relationships and human interdependence; (3) subjugating individual rights for the good of the group; (4) cooperating to achieve productivity in the workplace and peace in the world; and (5) providing information and education to all who have a part in a particular process. A 36-item bibliography is included. (JHP)

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THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S MANAGEMENT THOUGHT: A SNAPSHOT

by

Lynnette Brouwer

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The History of Women's Management Thought: A Snapshot

This research and analysis examines contributions of women to the development of management thought in the United States. While the body of literature most-often referenced and read as the core of management thought is male-authored, it is reasonable to assume that women too have written about their management philosophy and perspective. This effort is a beginning at searching out and analyzing women's contribution to the development of management thought.

Why Study Women's Management Thought?

While popular management thought literature might briefly reference one or two women, such as Mary Parker Follett as a noted political philosopher, or Lillian Gilbreth, wife of Frederick Taylor's follower Frank Gilbreth, this token consideration is simply not enough. Women, just like men, have "at different times and in different circumstances, faced varying problems and have reacted to them in diverse ways" (Beddoe, 1983, p. 7.) Women's individual diversity, and their collective change over time, require that women's perspectives be examined in the same depth as men's perspectives. If popular management literature considers male management thought over centuries, and includes perspectives of both the wealthy, elitist, always-manager type and the laborer-entrepreneur turned manager type, as well as variations on both themes, then that literature also ought to examine this same variety of women's thought. At present there is a huge void in the management thought literature where women's reflections, musings and predictions ought to be.

"We need to know our past to understand our present." (Beddoe, 1983, p. 6) The present grows of the whole past, not just the portion we choose to teach or learn; and we know pitifully little about much of our past. The history of women's management thought is not unique in this regard. As managers learn more about the whole picture of management development, and

as women increase awareness of their heritage in the field of management, we expand our ability to interpret the present.

Our foundation of what-came-before can never be too solid, and presently women managers' knowledge of their own history is a most non-existent. Recently (in early-March of 1988) I was listening to a radio show featuring women managers. Each woman spoke briefly in introduction. Then the show was opened for telephone questions and comments; the first two were from men suggesting women read specific male authors to help women "get inside men's heads." I then called. I referred to my research on women's management thought, mentioned the authors I'd been reading, and asked the women in the studio if they knew of or had read any of these authors, and if so, how the material had affected their perspective and approach. Nervous giggles followed, after which one of the panelists said, "No, I've not read any of the women mentioned, but ____ is the reader, perhaps she has." The "reader" was familiar with Jane Addams, but not Mary Parker Follett, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, or Grace and Edith Abbott.

This lack of a sense of our origins and heritage as women managers (exemplified by, but not unique to, the women on the radio show) leaves us rootless--missing a basic tool to help shape our own styles and understand present management developments and direction. And men get a false sense that their gender claims a historical monopoly on the field of management. This belief can fuel a conscious or unconscious justification that management thought and practice is men's domain. By recognizing and studying women's management thought, we begin to get a clearer picture of past reality, present perspectives and future possibilities.

When we study the history of management thought through men's writings, we see management development from their orientation only. Historically that orientation has been very different from women's, and orientation affects perspective. This turn-of-the-century quote from Frances Willard, Women's

Christian Temperance Union president from 1879-1899, provides some insight:

> Men take one line, and travel onward to success; with them discursiveness is at a discount. But women in the home must be mistresses, as well as maids of all work; they have learned well the lesson of unity in diversity; hence by inheritance and by environment, women are varied in their methods; they are born to be 'branchers-out'. (Evans, 1986, p. 90)

This statement indicates women's job as both manager and laborer in the household--a role contributing to a unique orientation to the management of work. This role required diverse knowledge, skills and abilities to perform the various tasks required to keep a home running. Hence, women were "varied in their methods" and lived a life achieving "unity in diversity." Because of their orientation and domestic experience, women's perspective came from an insider's view as manager-laborer. This perspective shaped women's philosophy on the management of work, whether it be at home, in the factory, in the office, or in society and the world at large.

Women's experience takes on even greater relevance when one considers the role of the family as the unit of production prior to industrialization (Langdon-Davies, 1927, p. 364).

> The pre-industrial and pre-capitalist world. . .was characterized by its relative lack of separation between home and work. Women had a clear role in the production of food and clothing and in the family's collective labor, whether that labor was in artisan crafts, piece-work manufacturing, or agricultural work. (Murray, 1982, p. 4)

Therefore, as women came into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they brought with them real labor and management experience. The workplace where they labored and managed was the home, and its contribution to the economy, and the available supply of goods and services, was significant. This experience meant women did have an understanding of the tasks and responsibilities of labor and management. They had relevant perspectives and ideas about management work and philosophy, grounded in a unique orientation and actual expertise.

Studying the history of women's management thought, therefore, is not simply an academic exercise or trendy pasttime. Historically women have worked and managed in various capacities, not the least of which is "mistress" and "maid" of the household. Just like men, they have insights and perspectives based on expertise and orientation. In all likelihood, however, women's ideas about management will not replicate those of men, because women's expertise and orentation have been different. By studying women's contributions over time and in various situations, we increase the breadth and depth of our knowledge of the past, and our ability to interpret the present. With a more solid grounding in the past, and increased understanding of the present, we can look to the future with greater insight, confidence and optimism.

Finding a Record of Women's Management Thought

While men worked for railroads (Henry Varnum Poor); in manufacturing (Henry R. Towne), steel mills (Frederick Taylor and Henry Gantt) and coal mines (Henri Fayol); and as independent consultants (Frank Gilbreth) (Wren, 1987), women began moving into occupations which were extensions of their roles as wives and mothers. Men wrote about their experience and women wrote about theirs. Because "women directed their activities into channels which were. . .an extension of their domestic concerns and traditional roles" (Lerner, 1979, p. 146), it is necessary to search the literature of occupations and volunteer groups which represent these domestic and traditional areas, to find information on women's management thought.

"The vast majority of gainfully employed women [in Petersburg, Virginia in the early 1800's] drew on traditional household skills by various means in directly serving bodily needs, providing food, clothing, shelter, sex and medical care" (Lebsock, 1977, p. 208). Women earned incomes through housekeeping, sewing, child care, and food growing and preparation. They kept boarding houses and houses of ill repute;

they provided health care in hospitals and private homes. Presbyterian women formed the Female Union Benevolent Society in 1838 to "offer relief 'to the suffering poor by furnishing them with employment, fuel, provision, and clothing'" (Miller, 1979, p. 158). Wealthy women in Providence, Rhode Island, established the Providence Employment Society in 1837 to aid "self-supporting seamstresses, providing employment, relief, and vocational education" (Benson, 1978, p. 302). In 1841, Dorothea Dix began her career of advocating for the insane when she took a job as Sunday School teacher in the East Cambridge jail and saw that mentally ill prisoners were kept in unheated quarters, "and had none of the advantages granted to the sane prisoners" (Stroup, 1986, p. 128). Throughtout the nineteenth century, women found various avenues to extend their caretaking role from the domestic sphere into the public.

By the late 1800's, women had became involved in local government under the guise of "municipal housekeeping" (Hill, 1937); "women created public, political roles defining them as 'civic housekeeping'" (Evans, p. 92). Mary McDowell led women's involvement in solid waste disposal management in Chicago (Hill, 1937) and three women were appointed to the Fire Prevention Bureau in New York City (Beard, 1915). Julia Lathrop, who would in 1912 become the first chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, served on the Illinois State Board of Charities and Correction (Addams, 1935, p. 88), and Mary Richmond was head of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity (Bird, 1976, p. 187).

Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago in 1889, and several more settlement houses were established over the next decade in other eastern U.S. metropolitan areas. Most were founded and managed by women, like Lillian Wald of Henry Street House and Mary Simkhovitch of Greenwich House, both in New York City (Wald, 1915; Simkhovitch, 1949). Settlement houses were managed in a participative, collaborative style (Simkhovitch, 1926; Tims, 1961); gave residents a secure, nurturing environment; and provided a variety of health, education, and

family assistance programs and services to people who lived in the neighborhood (Henderson, 1899; Sherrick, 1980). These settlement houses "rested on the principle of home extension" (Sherrick, p. 4), providing a physical home for residents, and home-centered services for the neighborhood. They also served as a model of the human interdependence their founders valued and saw as inevitable in the culture of the day (p. 5).

The late nineteenth century marked a movement of women into factory work; one result was establishment of the Women's Protective and Provident League in 1874, renamed the Women's Trade Union League in 1891 (Goldman, 1974). Women's labor union history is therefore another possibility for uncovering information about women's management thought. Rose Schneiderman, Margaret Dreier Robins and Leonora O'Reilly all played key roles in this movement (Lagemann, 1978; Moore, 1981).

While women were active and visible in areas such as these, the woman choosing to be a civil engineer was advised as follows in a book published in 1917:

> She can receive the academic training at several different institutions in this country. Then will come the difficulty of getting into a position where she can make use of this training. The world is admitting women little by little into new fields, but it still looks askance upon a number of women's activities, and among them is that of civil engineering. . .The best thing a girl can do who is determined to enter this profession and who has been educated for it, is to go to some town where she intends to live, open an office and wait. . .She may have to wait for a long time. . .It might be simpler to go into an office in some small capacity, but it is doubtful if she would be given any very good opportunity to advance beyond a certain point. (Bennett, 1917, p. 254)

In 1940, Mary Gilson--teacher, trainer, personnelist, consultant and professor--"attended a national conference of executives engaged in factory production. One lone woman holding such a job was present among several hundred men" (Gilson, 1940, p 291). And as recently as 1970, "men constituted over 96 percent of all managers and administrators earning more than $15,000 yearly" (Kanter, 1977, p. 17).

The message is this--if we want to know what women managers think, and what women think about management, we must look where women were (and are) given an opportunity to think and manage. This discussion is not an exhaustive accounting of places to look, or fields providing homes, for women managers. Rather, it describes a part of the historical evolution of women into managerial roles and establishes a foundation for searching out women's management thought in areas other than the commercial/industrial settings which gave rise to male contributors to management development. It was through this process--that is, looking in fields where women worked, for women who thought and wrote about management--that I was able to get my first view of a body of literature that can begin to fill the void where women's management thought ought to be.

Boundaries of this Research

A boundary separates matter included from that excluded. Great bodies of information, both known and unknown to the author, have been excluded from consideration in this particular paper. While the limits of this work are also referred to in the concluding section of the paper, a brief discussion of those limits is necessary to place this research in context. Similarly, while the section to follow forms the core of this study's analysis, an introduction to material included in that section is provided here to help orient the reader.

This research and analysis is neither inclusive nor conclusive. It is a beginning--no more, but also no less. Findings and conclusions should not be interpreted as representing women as a whole throughout history. Just as inserting study of one or two women into the standard management thought curriculum isn't sufficient to represent the totality of women's perspective, this study of five women who lived and worked between 1860 and 1960, does not attempt to make a claim that all women thought this way, or that women always thought

this way. This is a snapshot--a study of five particular women who thought and wrote about management 50-100 years ago.

The women who are subjects of this paper do not comprise a well-planned representative sample of turn-of-the-century occupations and volunteer activities. Rather, they are women about whom enough information was available to conduct research within the confines of the university's quarter system. I found them by intention and accident. I knew just enough about Mary Parker Follett, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Jane Addams to suspect they would have something to say about management. Lillian Gilbreth and Mary Barnett Gilson were referred to in the Wren text. The search for material written by and about these particular women was fruitful with the exception of Lillian Gilbreth. While I did find her book, The Psychology of Management, it did not include insights to her management philosophy. Rather it is a how-to guidebook for industrial managers. As no other information was available about Gilbreth, this necessitated my dropping her from consideration for this study.

In addition to looking for information on particular women about whom I already had some knowledge, I conducted a broad sweep through dissertation abstracts andd library files. This sweep led to additional information about, and references to, Follett, Gilman and Addams, confirming my hunch that they were central figures in the evolution of women's management thought. I discovered Margaret Dreier Robins in Elizabeth Moore's dissertation (1981).

Other women surfaced during this broad-brush portion of my research, but little or no information was available on their management philosophy, rather it was primarily biographical in nature. These women included Francis Wright, founder of the utopian community of Nashoba, Tennessee (Lerner, 1979); Grace Dodge, early YWCA Board president (Lagemann, 1978); Leonora O'Reilly of the Women's Trade Union League (Lagemann); Rose Schneidermann, Women's Trade Union League president in the 1920's

and secretary of the New York State Department of Labor from 1937-1943 (Lagemann); Florence Kelley, chief factory inspector for the State of Illinois from 1895-1899, leaving that position to become secretary of the National Consumer's League (Costin, 1983; Sherrick, 1980); Francis Willard, Women's Christian Temperance Union president from 1879-1899 (Evans, 1986); Lillian Wald and Mary Simkhovitch, founders of settlement houses in New York City (Lagemann; Simkhovitch, 1926, 1949; Wald, 1915); Julia Lathrop, first chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau from 1912-1921 (Addams, 1935; Costin, 1983); Grace Abbott, second chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau from 1921-1933, U.S. representative on the League of Nations Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, and considered as secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor in the Hoover administration (Costin); and Edith Abbott, writer, researcher and university professor, member of the Committee on Women in Industry of the Council of National Defense, and appointed first dean of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration in 1924 (Costin). In addition, Caroline Bird's book Enterprising Women (1976) includes stories about women who managed various and sundry operations ranging from bordellos (Aida and Minna Everleigh) to cosmetics firms (Harriet Hubbard Ayer) to ranches (Henrietta Chamberlain King). I learned enough about these women to whet my appetite for more, but not enough to discuss their management thought.

Even within these constraints of available time and information, I was astonished and pleased at the wealth of material I was able to locate. The result is a study of five women who worked and wrote during approximately the same period of time, about 1885-1945--a period which coincides very closely with that during which a number of men central to the traditional management thought curriculum also worked and wrote. These women either crossed paths or referred to each other in their writing, but none were intimate friends or direct colleagues. All entered adulthood independently wealthy, but worked throughout their lives. Two earned their own independent livings; three seem to

have earned a salary off and on, but basically believed in using their wealth to benefit humankind, and contributed their labors toward the same end. They represent the extension of domesticity into the public sphere; more male-oriented fields of consulting, public-speaking and philosophical writing; and labor union organizing and management.

The women included in the following analysis are:

* Jane Addams (1860-1935), founder of Hull House (along with Ellen Starr) in the Chicago slums at age 29; member of Chicago Board of Education and Ward 19 garbage inspector; international peace activist, and recipient of the Nobel peace prize and 15 honorary degrees; heralded as "'statesman without portfolio, a professor without a chair, and a guiding woman in a man-made world'" (Tims, 1961, p. 138); wrote and published ten books about democracy and peace, women's history and perspective, and her experiences in settlement house work (Sherrick, 1980; Tims).
* Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935), noted for her candor, forthrightness and non-confirmity; wrote and published twelve books, the most acclaimed of which was Women and Economics (1898); edited and wrote for the Women's Press Association journal, "Impress", for over ten years in the 1880's and 90's; resided at Hull House for a short time in 1896 and again in 1900; edited and published a monthly magazine, "The Forerunner", from 1909 to 1916, including much of her own work in the magazine; did public speaking and organizing in the labor and women's movement; kept a boarding house and did various odd jobs at times to make ends meet (Gilman, 1966; Hill, 1980).
* Mary Parker Follett (1868-1933), published her first book, The Speaker of the House of Representatives, at age 29; most noted literary contributions were The New State (1920) and Creative Experience (1924), the second of which was widely read by business leaders of the day; did vocational guidance work with teenagers, founding and partially funding the Boston Placement Bureau, which later became the city's Department of Vocational Guidance; theorized, wrote and consulted about democracy and

management and the relation between the two, including collaborative decision-making, constructive conflict and "'power-with'" rather than "'power-over'"(Bird, 1976; Wren, 1987).

* Margaret Dreier Robins (1868-1945), met Jane Addams when she and her husband moved to Chicago immediately following their 1905 marriage; served as president of the Women's Trade Union League from 1907-1922; led and strengthened the League during conflict-ridden, difficult years; focused on organizing workers until 1913, then concentrated on education and legislation; established a school for women organizers in 1914 which continued until 1926, four years after she left her League post (Moore, 1981; James, 1971).

* Mary Barnett Gilson (1877-?), led a varied professional life including the following work: coached factory girls at the Kingsley House Settlement in Pittsburgh; trained sales girls in Boston; worked as vocational counselor at Trade School for Girls, also in Boston; held position as "welfare worker", that is, personnelist, in men's clothing factory in Cleveland from 1913-1917; served as associate director of World War I era technical training school for women; worked as an independent consultant for government and industry; taught economics at the University of Chicago; published one insightful book about her experience, <u>What's Past is Prologue</u> (1940) (Gilson, 1940).

<u>An Approach to Examining Women's Management Thought</u>

I dissected writings by and about Addams, Gilman, Follett, Robins and Gilson in an effort to determine what, if any, management principles or approaches might be common to these five women. This was simply one way to manage the abundance of information available; any number of other approaches might be used instead. In so doing I am not suggesting that these women had identical approaches to management, rather I am attempting to synthesize a body of woman-identified management thought and offer a foundation for further research in this area.

I did not try to force the material into an already existing framework because I truly wanted to discover whatever evolved from an analysis of this information, not interpret it through the screen of someone else's ideas. I agree with Gerda Lerner that "the true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in [the]. . .world on their own terms" (1979). Fitting women's experience and philosophy into male-defined experience and philosophy will at the very least prevent an opportunity to find out whether women's approach is unique and other-defined, and at worst, rob us of the truth of half of the world's population.

And so it is with management thought. These women's ideas are not examined in relationship to "scientific management"; they are not compared and contrasted to the ideas of Henri Fayol, Frederick Taylor, Frank Gilbreth or Chester Barnard; they are not claimed to be the same as, similar to, or different from the ideas of their male contemporaries. Rather the philosophy of Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Parker Follett, Margaret Dreier Robins and Mary Barnett Gilson is pulled apart, examined and put back together in a way which aids interpretation of these women's ideas only.

The concepts which surfaced in this effort are the following: 1) achieving unity through diversity rather than through uniformity; 2) placing value on relationships and human interdependence; 3) subjugating individual sovereign rights for the good of the group; 4) the importance of cooperation to achieve productivity in the workplace and peace in the world; and 5) belief in making information and education available to all who have a part in the process, whether that process is factory work or democratic government. The following analysis will consider the management philosophy and practice of Addams, Gilman, Follett, Robins and Gilson in relation to these concepts, and explore connections between these concepts and their life experience as women.

The Management Thought of Five Influential Women

Unity through Diversity. Sometime during her tenure as Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) president, Frances Willard claimed that "'women have learned well the lesson of unity in diversity'" (Evans, 1986, p. 90). She related this to the "'Do-Everything'" policy of the WCTU, under which the Union became involved in nurseries, Sunday schools, industrial schools, missions for homeless and destitute women, temporary lodging houses for men, medical dispensaries and prison reform (pp. 88-89). This policy had in turn evolved from women's role as the provider of a similar variety of services in their own homes and communities. Women recognized that people and programs came together because of diverse needs, interests and abilities.

For Jane Addams, "to uphold the unity of life meant also to uphold its diversity, and nowhere was this doctrine better demonstrated than at Hull House itself, where by [1895] upwards of forty varied activities and associations were established" (Tims, 1961, p. 54). She insisted "that the settlement avoid the inflexibility of any single dogma" and parted with Hull House cofounder Ellen Starr over this issue (Sherrick, 1980, p. 127). She was a committed pacifist, for instance, "but opened the doors of Hull House to the nineteenth ward draft board. . .It was this toleration which made the settlement attractive to a diverse array of prospective residents" (p. 127). Francis Hackett, a long-time resident of Hull House, made reference to "Jane's 'inclusive genius,' her gift of synthesis, of 'bringing things to unity by patience, subtlety and breadth'" (p. 127).

"The basic condition of human life is union," said Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and we achieve that union through our diverse contributions to the whole, whether that whole is a cell, an organ, an organism, or society (Gilman, 1966, pp. 100-101). While there is less evidence that she practiced the "unity through diversity" philosophy, it was a major theme in Women and Economics (1966). In Human Work (1904) she claimed, "Resting on

the firm basis of natural law. . .is the fact of human solidarity" (p. 368).

"Unity, not uniformity, must be our aim. We attain unity only through variety. Differences must be integrated, not annihilated, nor absorbed" (Follett, 1924, p. 39). "Individuality" said Mary Parker Follett, "is the capacity for union. The measure of individuality is the depth and breadth of true relation" (p. 62). Further, she asserted that

> there is no way out of the hell of our present European situation until we find a method of compounding difference. . .International peace is never coming by an increase of similarities. . .; [it] is coming by the frankest and fullest kind of recognition of our differences. . .The aim of internationalism is a rich content of widely varying characteristic and experience. (pp. 344-345.)

Throughout her life, Follett interacted with a variety of people, ranging from poor teenagers in her vocational guidance work between 1900 and 1915, to influential business leaders in her role as consultant and writer (Bird, 1976).

Throughout her tenure with the Women's Trade Union League, Margaret Dreier Robins sought out and celebrated ethnic variety among the women who worked with the League (Moore, 1981). She saw to it that League circulars were printed in several languages--at least six, and sometimes as many as eleven. She was committed to the League and to organizing, because she believed that organization enabled people "to act unitedly and to move toward a common purpose and vision," it meant the "'capacity to stand together" (p. 141).

"Springing from nonconformist ancestry, it was not hard for me to read so-called radical journals and join underdog and minority protecting groups," claimed Mary Barnet Gilson (Gilson, 1940, p. 119). While a personnelist in a non-union factory, she believed in and practiced free expression and association by attending labor union meetings when she chose, and disagreeing with her supervisors when she saw fit. "The intelligent employer encourages challenge, questioning," she maintained, "not blind

acceptance and 'our Leader knows best' acclaim. . .One cause of the retardation of progress is that individuals so frequently tend to jell in a fixed mold" (p. 119). She held that immersing oneself in diversity created bonds to the outside world, and facilitated personal and industrial change.

Relationships and Human Interdependence.

> Because of the precariousness of their economic situation and their segregation in the 'women's sphere,' women necessarily relied upon one another for comfort and advice, pooling their physical, financial, and intellectual resources to make up for the difficulties of their position. (Murray, 1982, p. 12).

Women historically defined themselves and their roles primarily through their relationships to others--God, men, and other women. Their relationship to God through religion and religious work; to men through wife and daughter roles; and to other women as friends, compatriots, midwives and the disenfranchised, still formed the essence of women's identity in the late nineteenth century.

In 1922 Jane Addams observed, "Not war, but the desire to come to terms with one another is 'the very spring of life which underlies all social organizations and political associations'" (Tims, 1961, p. 13) While she concluded in 1929 that, "'The modern world is developing an almost mystic consciousness of the continuity and interdependence of mankind,'" (p. 10) it is uncertain whether this was an objective observation of the world around her, or a reflection of her personal desire for the way the world ought to be. Hull House was the "clearest view of [her] organic view of modern culture and. . .conviction that the home was no longer a bastion of individualism, but part of a complex system of human interdependence" (Sherrick, 1980, p. 5). While Jane Addams tended to express her "strong capacity for affection [as] generalized compassion. . .the paramountcy of 'affection' in human relationships was one of her recurring themes" (Tims, p. 57). Personally she was at the center of a

strong and active network of women who met and established relationships while living at Hull House.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman discussed relationships and interdependence in a more detached, impersonal way than Jane Addams. In Women and Economics (1966), she compared society to any living organism which survives and/or profits by becoming "a complex bundle of members and organs in indivisible relation" (p. 102). "Social evolution," she said, "tends to an. . .increasing interdependence of the component parts. . .based absolutely on the advantage to the individual as well as to the social body" (p. 103).

Mary Parker Follett's perspective on relationships and interdependence is much like Gilman's, and is derived from her commitment to unity through diversity. Her statements on the subject in The New State (1920) include the following: "It is not my uniqueness which makes me of value to the whole but my power of relating" (p. 64); "Social psychology is beginning to show us that man advances towards completeness. . .by further and further relatings of self to other men" (p. 65); and "Individuality is a matter primarily neither of apartness nor of difference, but of each finding his own activity in the whole" (p. 67). Like Gilman, her philosophy regarding interdependence stays on a more abstract plain than Addam's life at the center of innumerable human relationships. But like Addams, she holds a global perspective in regard to relations, stating her belief "that the end of the wars of nations and the war betwen labor and capital will come in exactly the same way: by making the nations into one group, by making capital and labor into one group" (pp. 119-120)--single groups which recognize the interdependence of their interest and fate.

Margaret Dreier Robins understood culture "as that 'larger whole' which gave meaning and purpose to the actions of persons who would function as a 'mass of [otherwise] unrelated individuals'" (Moore, 1981, p. 142). Like Follett and Gilman, she believed people received a full sense of their own self in

understanding their relationship to the whole. She believed trade unionism helped people see that relationship because it linked people together, and "this new 'mode of associated life' inevitably pointed to wider relatinships and contained ever-enlarging implications for social meaning" (p, 149). She fought subdivided work because she believed it "produced a sense of individual isolation which prevented laborers from interpreting their acts in relationship to those of others." Like Jane Addams, she formed a pivot point for many women's relationships through her leadership role with the League and her planning of "happy times"--parties, dances, picnics and conversational evenings at the Robins home--which helped bond League workers (p. 280).

Mary Barnett Gilson expressed her concern for relationships and interdependence as a personnelist aware of the worker as more than an agent of production, and in her observations of global reality. While working with a private firm in Geneva, Switzerland, during the demise of the League of Nations, she developed "an increasingly keen consciousness of a close-knit world, of a world in which entangling alliances are the inevitable result of the on rush of invention" (Gilson, 1940, p. 268). Many years before this, during her tenure with the Clothcraft Shops in Cleveland, she noted the monotony and alienation created by specialization in the factory. She maintained that if "the productive process" were not to "impede the progress of a democratic system," management and labor must demonstrate "concern with community as well as working conditions and concern with the worker as an individual, not merely as a cog in a machine" (p. 90). She saw the need for positive relations between nations, and between industry, community and worker.

The Good of the Group. During the nineteenth century, women were joining together in groups to fight for abolition, temperance, suffrage, and a variety of other causes and rights (Bird, 1976; Lerner, 1979). They were learning that in order to

get access to power, they may have to forego individual interests and objectives, and combine their efforts to achieve the goals of the group. Into this experience they brought with them a heritage of functioning in groups as a means to "[lighten] their burdens and [improve] their lives, [through] quilting bees, . . .literary societies and cooperative child-care centers" (Lerner, p. 43). And as wives and mothers, women often let their families' needs and interests take priority over their own.

Jane Addams searched for "'a new social ethic for the industrial age'", "superseding the interests not only of the individual but of the sectional group: each group had a rightful place, but the parts must be subordinated to the whole in whatever social unit their interests co-existed" (Tims, 1961, p. 69). She verbally supported, and physically and mentally engaged in, work for the "betterment of humanity" (p. 14). She envisioned a "'cathedral of humanity. . .capacious enough to house a fellowship of common purposes and. . .beautiful enough to persuade men to hold fast to the vision of human solidarity'" (p. 36). At Hull House she planned and/or facilitated a host of group activities for decades. She was personally a member of such groups as the International League for Peace and Freedom and the American Civil Liberties Union. She believed in the power and value of the group, and acted on her belief.

"Gilman was hostile to the extreme individualism that characterized Anerican life in her time. She emphasized instead the priority of the group, the society, and the community" (Gilman, 1966, p. xxxiii). She claimed it was "natural. . .for. . .individual citizens [to work] together for the social good" (p. 103). In both of her books she discussed the evolution of a society that was becoming increasingly interdependent, and would involve "the gradual subordination of individual effort for individual good to the collective effort for the collective good" (p. 102). She claimed that "our sick society. . .[was] treating social disease by local application" (Gilman, 1904), and called

instead for comprehensive recognition and treatment of problems eroding society.

The focus of Mary Parker Follett's 1920 book, The New State, was group process and cooperation to further democracy. She wrote:

> From the group process arise social understanding and true sympathy. At the same moment appears the social will which is the creative will. Many writers are laying stress on the 'possibilities' of the collective will; what I wish to emphasize is the necessity of 'creating' the collective will. . .'The will to will the common will' is the core, the germinating centre of that large, still larger, ever larger life which we are coming to call the true democracy. (Follett, 1920, pp. 48, 49)

She believed that "the strength of the group does not depend on the greatest number of strong men, but on the strength of the bond between them, that is, on the amount of solidarity, on the best organization. . .The progress of man," she continued, "must consist in extending the group, in belonging to many groups, in the relation of these groups" (p. 96).

Margaret Dreier Robins' belief in the group context was inseparable from her views on human relationships, and role of the individual in relation to the whole (Moore, 1981). A view of the whole, an identity with the group, was the underlying principle of the public aspects of her union organizing, as well as the personal gatherings she planned for her colleagues. Group interaction and participation, and sharing of both work and leisure-time activities, enabled her and her cohorts to "take courage from their social life to their work life. . .to be literally 'encouraged'" (p. 292).

Mary Barnett Gilson makes reference to the value of seeking the good of the group in an observation regarding Frederick Taylor's "'mental revolution'" (Gilson, 1940, p. 103) She suggests "it involves just what the final achievement of international law and order will involve--the sacrifice of sovereign 'rights' in the interest of general welfare" (p. 103).

Cooperation to Achieve Productivity and Peace. Women have cooperated historically to enhance domestic productivity through group activities such as quilting bees, and efforts to harvest and preserve food (Lerner, 1979). Gerda Leaner observed that "the mill girl and the lady, both born in the age of Jackson, would not gain access to power until they learned to cooperate, each for her own separate interests" (p. 29). And in the home, a traditional women's role was that of mediator and conciliator to keep the family functioning in harmony.

Jane Addams "was always unreservedly committed to the peace movement" (Tims, 1961, p. 88). In 1914, she was elected Chair of the newly formed Women's Peace Party. Consistent with Jane Addams' belief in the substitution of arbitration for war, the Peace Party adopted a "plan for a Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation" (p. 89) She was instrumental in establishing the International Congress of Women held at The Hague in 1915, and named president of the National Peace Federation when it was formed that same year. In 1929 she attended her last of several Congresses of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and resigned as International President (p. 139). Jane Addams worked throughout her life, both as a private citizen and official representative, to promote peace through national and international cooperation.

"The progress of society rests upon the increasing collectivity of human labor" wrote Charlotte Perkins Gilman in 1898 (Gilman, 1966, p. 101). She believed that peace was not possible in a society in which

> each man took care of himself. . .had no interest in, or love for his neighbor; when their small 'spheres of influence' touched, there was a combat. . .this stage of development is the stage of war. . .When the economic processes of the world are in common. . .we have the sure basis for common consciousness, for international peace, and all high development. (Gilman, 1904, p. 278.)

"Progress is not determined then by economic conditions, by physical conditions nor by biological factors solely, but more especially by our capacity for genuine cooperation" (Follett,

1920, p. 93). Mary Parker Follett advocated the concept of "mutual aid," and noted that "for many years. . .the fittest [person] has been the one with the greatest power of cooperation" (p. 93). As long as we continue to see relations as those between victor and vanquished, then we will always have pointless conflict. Rather "synthesis is the principle of life, the method of social progress," she said. "Men have developed not through struggle but through learning how to live together" (p. 93). Regarding relations between labor and capital, she recommended that to have harmony between the two, "we must have an integration of interests and motives, of standards and ideals of justice" (p. 117). Finally, she purported, "modern business, therefore, needs above all men who can unite, not merely men who can unite without friction, but who can turn their union to account. The successful business man of to-day is the man of trained cooperative intelligence" (p. 113).

Margaret Dreier Robins knew that the only way to achieve the goals of the Women's Trade Union League was through cooperation between workers. She saw the advance of culture as "that 'harmony of enduring individualities connected in a unity of a background'" (Moore, 1981, p. 143). It "implied a context in which all citizens experienced a 'larger life of social relationship where all unite in a common purpose. . .to work out every gift of nature, and to live out every resource of body, mind and heart'" (p. 143). Cooperation in this sense contributed to development of complete, well-adjusted human beings who were better equipped to make their full contribution in the workplace, and in society at large.

Mary Barnett Gilson believed that "the industrial world would be a more peaceful place if workers were called in as collaborators in the process of establishing standards and defining shop practices" (Gilson, 1940, p. 56). She suggested that if "in the early years of our industrialization. . .[workers] had been trained to deal collectively with problems not only of their industry, but of industry in general,. . .we

would have a different world today" (p. x). With the international perspective gained by living and working in Geneva, Switzerland, she became more convinced than ever "of the necessity for combined judgement of workers, employers, and governments in the formulation of industrial standards and of the importance of those standards to civilization" (p. 268). The "entangling alliances" of the post World War I era, gave her belief in collective, cooperative action a global imperative.

Education for All. Education was not something nineteenth century women took for granted. Few had the opportunity to attend high school, much less college. "The girl's education was sporadic and often interrupted," (Lerner, 1979, p. 163) and was either directed at better equipping her for her traditional role, or resulted in competion with that role (Lagemann, 1978; Lerner). Because of the tendency to direct curriculum in women's college toward the former, the quality of education at those institutions was often suspect. Both Grace and Edith Abbott chose to attend the University of Chicago over more prestigious women's colleges because "they distrusted the quality of instruction in women's colleges compared to that given in men's colleges" (Costin, 1983, p. 27). This necessity of women's self-advocacy to acquire a quality education, affected their philosophy regarding education of workers and citizens.

As an undergraduate student at Rockford Seminary for girls (she'd passed the exams for Smith College, but her father insisted she attend nearby Rockford), Jane Addams claimed that the way to achieve justice was "by trained intelligence, by broadened sympathies toward the idividual man or woman who crosses our path" (Tims, 1961, p. 24). She believed in learning from life itself, and established Hull House in Chicago's slums to give residents an opportunity to learn from the neighborhood, and vice versa. She provided resources and guidance for countless learning opportunities for people living in and around Hull House. Jane Addams believed that industrial advance was

tied inextricably to the education of the working man, nurture of human life, and integration of the public and private.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman's educational goals were "to teach students to use their 'own power--to observe, deduce, and act accordingly'" (Hill, 1980, p. 248). She believed that

> conservative academic institutions were responsible for perpetuating human suffering rather than responding to human needs. They socialized people to accept inequities rather than push for change. They used schools for class advantage, for glorifying the 'high and mighty,' and for teaching everyone else to accept inferiority as a result of nature. They taught students to conform rather than rebel, absorb rather than express, and memorize rather than think. (p. 248)

By publishing matarial reflecting her views in the "Impress" bulletin, she influenced academia "toward more acceptance of women in professions,. . .more academic involvement in political reform, and. . .'revolt against formalism' in learning" (p. 246).

Mary Parker Follett claimed that true democracy could free people from the "hopeless system of caste" (Follett, 1920, p. 77) in which some people were educated, trained and enlightened and some were not. "The main aim in reconstruction of society," she said, "must be to get all that every man has to give, to bring the submerged millions into light and activity" (p. 74). Effective democracy required effective group process, and effective group process required full participation of each individual enabled by widespread access to information and knowledge.

Margaret Dreier Robins valued the "'capacity to be self-governing in industry and in politics'" (Moore, 1981, p. 141), and saw education as synomous with democracy. Her union activity was in direct relation with this approach; she "identified the aims of unionism with education or the growth of character and mind" (p. 147). Education woke up dormant energies, "enabled the individual to 'detect the possibility of harmony'" and to see relationships between everyday life, nature and society (p. 148). Trade unionism facilitated this kind of linking through connections within the union and with the world at large. "It

mitigated against mechanical perspectives by giving a common intent and by organizing psychological responses and intellectual assumptions around more 'organic' themes" (p. 150). She implemented her educational philosophy through the Training School for Women Workers she established in 1914, which emphasized both academic education and training in the field (p. 204).

"The fact that there is no scientific proof that one class or one race is superior to another. . .ought to mean that. . . intelligent and informed persons will cease to regard workers as a group of human beings different in active mental capacity from other groups" (Gilson, 1940, pp. 24-25). Mary Barnett Gilson supported "real democracy in industry", but recognized the need to sufficiently educate workers "not only to recognize [the] facts [of the matter under discussion] but to assume their share of responsibility for the solution of increasily serious problems" (p. 118).

A Call for Further Research

In examining the management philosophies of these five women, I have discovered countless strategies and theories, all of which I cannot begin to discuss here. Among them are the following:

* Jane Addams' approach to ethics--"the sole medium of expression for ethics. . .[is] action" (Tims, 1961, p. 12); and her belief in the necessity of constant interaction between education and experience, conviction and action, public and private.
* Charlotte Perkins Gilman's discussion of human work as a means of expression (Gilman, 1904), and the necessity of that expression to remain healthy and well-adjusted because "we are transmitters of energy, not vats for storage" (p. 304).
* Mary Parker Follet's conviction that to accomplish effective group process "we must consider besides [the unification of thought], the unification of feeling, affection, emotion, desire,

aspiration--all that we are" (Follett, 1920, p. 44); and her perspectives on power:

> The central problem of social relations. . . is power; that is the problem of industry, of politics, of international affairs. But our task is not to learn where to place power; it is how to develop power. . . Genuine power can only be grown. It will slip away from every arbitrary hand that grabs it; for genuine power is not coercive control, but coactive control. Coercive power is the curse of the universe; coactive power, the enrichment and advancement of every human soul. (Follett, 1924, pp. xii-xiii)

* Margaret Dreier Robins' principle of "encouragement", that is, being energized through social and leisure-time activities, and taking the courage fostered in those activities to one's work (Moore, 1981).

* Mary Barnett Gilson's touch for the "human and factual" (Gilson, 1940, p. 271), and her manner of living through ambiguity as described here by Ida Tarbell,

> I recognized. . . that you were trying to work out something in which you believed, and that you knew well enough that you were far from the perfect product. The point was that you recognized that there was nothing finished about what you were doing, but you believed you were on the way. (p. 85)

* The utilitarian perspective of each woman's philosophy and writing; it is fused with reality, with actual situations and dilemmas.

Beyond the analysis in this paper, and the above observations noted but not discussed, there is much still to be done to paint a picture of the history of women's management thought. My hope is that this beginning will spark an awareness that women do, and did, think and write about management, and that their perspective is critical to a more complete understanding of what lies behind and beyond.

(LF Brouwer; 1988)

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